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## NOTES ON THE SPANISH PALATALS

### OLD SPANISH *j*

Modern Spanish has two slightly different *y*-sounds. The more vowel-like one, resembling French *y* in *yeux*, stands next to a consonant or at the end of a word: *bien*, *deis*, *ley*. The stronger form is used only at the beginning of a syllable: *hierro*, *yerro*. In ordinary speech the latter sound is a palatal fricative, the voiced counterpart of German *ch* after *e*. In emphatic utterance it often becomes a palatal *d* (Bohemian *d'*), or even the prepalatal affricate *dž* (English *j*), thus repeating a development found in nearly all Romance-speaking lands. Direct evidence of the formation of *dž* from *y*, under varying circumstances, is furnished by the literary language or by certain dialects in Rumanian, Italian, French, Provençal, and Catalan. Asturian and Galician have *š* (written *x*) corresponding to Castilian initial *j*, which is a voiceless velar fricative like German *ch* after *o*. Portuguese *j* is *ž*, and we know that this voiced sound was formerly used in Spain.

Several sixteenth-century writers, quoted by Cuervo in the *Revue hispanique*, II, 55, give to Spanish *j* the sound of French *j* or Italian palatal *g*. From Wiener's "Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula," published in the first volume of *Modern Philology*, we learn that the Judeo-Spanish of Slavonic countries distinguishes *dž* and *ž*. After a consonant, and at the beginning of a word, *dž* is used; *ž* stands between vowels: *andžel*, *dženti*, *džentil*, *džudería*, *džustu*, *džuzgar*, *endžuntu*, *eskožer*, *espežu*, *ižu*, *manožu*, *menažeru*, *mužer*, *ožu*. Whether this difference was made by Spaniards, in the fifteenth century or earlier, may be questioned; if it was, it agrees with the distinction of strong *r* in *honra*, *rico*, and weak *r* in *veras*. Turkish Jews use *dž* not only initially but between vowels also, according to Foulché-Delbosc (*Revue hispanique*, I, 28). Since Spanish *j* corresponds to Arabic *dž* in borrowed words, in Spanish transcriptions of Arabic, and in Arabic transcriptions of Spanish (*Revue hispanique*, II, 54, 62, 66), it is not likely that there was any

great difference between the two in mediaeval times. We may then assume that Spanish *j* was once *dž*; later *ž* was formed from *dž* as in French and Portuguese. When voiced *s* and *z* became voiceless in the sixteenth century, *ž* was likewise shifted to *š* in Asturian and Galician as well as Castilian. The change of *š* to a velar sound in Castilian, and almost to *h* in Andalusian, seems rather strange, but it is not without parallels in Romance. Northern Walloon has *bah̥t* for southern *bašé*, and *bâh̥t* for *bāžé*, equivalent to O.F. *baissier* and *baisier* (Feller, *Orthographe wallonne*, p. 28).

#### INITIAL *y*

Late Latin *y* comes from earlier palatalized *d*, palatalized *g*, hiatus *e*, hiatus *i*, as well as consonant *i*. Castilian has *j* for initial *y* before velar vowels: *jornal*, *joven*, *juego*, *juez*, *junco*, *junto*. In *yuso*, initial *y* was kept or restored by the influence of *ayuso*, which has regular medial *y*. The rustic words *yugo* and *yunto*, with their derivatives, must have come from a Spanish dialect which, like Gascon and Sicilian, kept *y* unchanged. The formation of *u* from open *u*, in *yugo* < *iūgu*, also agrees with the regular Sicilian development. In *uñir* < *\*yunyére* < *iungere*, *y* was lost by dissimilation, just as *r* was in *arado* < *aratru*, *criba* < *cribra*. The *u* of *yunque* was transposed too late for *y* to make *j*.

Initial *y* makes *j* before stressless *a*: *jacilla*, *jamás*. A third example, if its *j* does not come from *x*, may be found in *jalbegar* < *\*dyalbicare* < *de*+*albicare*. The apparent disagreement with *dorado* < *de*+*auratu* is no stranger than in French *jusque* < *de*+*usque* beside *dont* < *de*+*unde*. By a curious coincidence, Italian *albeggiare* and Portuguese *alvejar* show medial *dy* in a form without the prefix. The popular origin of *jacilla* < *\*iacilia* is proved by the lack of a classic Latin equivalent, and by its meaning, "señal ó huella que deja una cosa sobre la tierra en que ha estado por algún tiempo." The *ll* < *ly* does not indicate a learned word, as in *maravilla*; it must be due to negative dissimilation, like *pl* in *plañir* < *plangere* beside *ll* in *llanto* < *planctu*, and *c* for *ch* in French *cage*. In the variant *yaciya*, meaning "lecho," the connection with *yacer* was not forgotten; therefore its *y* was kept, and *ly* became *j*. The word *\*iacilia* was a neuter plural, standing for classic *cubile*, *cubilia*; its existence is assured by Italian

*giaciglio*, a remade singular like *orecchio* for *orecchia* < *auricula*. If *ayuno* comes from early *iaiunu*, *y* was lost by dissimilation as in Rumanian *ajun*. It may, however, represent classic *ad ieiunu*; this would have lost both *y*'s, like *hermano* < *germanu*, *peor* < *peiore*, and then made a new *y* from the hiatus vowel, like *haya* < *habeat* or *yunque* < *incude*.

Initial *y* is kept before stressed *a*, and before stressless *a* where the analogy of a strong verb-form hindered the change to *j*: *ya*, *yace*, *yacer*, *yaciya*, *yanta*, *yantar*. The loss of *m* in *iam*, contrary to *quien* < *quem*, may show that stressless *ya* was restressed before the change of *y* to *j*; or it may have come from misdivision of *iam-magis* into *\*ia+magis*, corresponding to Italian *dammi* = *da+mi*. If *j* was developed in *joven* before *au* became *o*, the *y* of *yogue* < *iacui* is regular; otherwise it is analogic like that of *yacer*.

Initial *y* has been lost before stressless *e* and *i*, the *h* sometimes written having no historic value: *encta* < *gingiva*, *helar* < *gelare*. The same development is found before secondary *e*: *echar*, *enero*, *enebro* = Italian *gettare*, *gennaio*, *ginepro*, for Latin *iactare*, *ianuariu*, *iuniperu*. From the regular loss of medial *y* next to *e* and *i*, it seems probable that initial *y* was lost before stressed *e*. As *ye* comes from *ē* alone in *yedra*, *yegua*, *yerba*, *yescas*, it may have done so in *yerno* < *gēneru* and other words of the kind. Italian has *gesso* with open *e*, so that Spanish *yeso* hardly proves that *y* was kept before *e*. In *jera* < *diaria*, corresponding to Portuguese *geira*, the *j* may be of rustic origin; Asturian has *š* in *xera* and *xenru* = *yerno*. If it is Castilian, it could have come from the related word *jornal*; or perhaps *di* was preserved by the influence of *día* and afterward passed directly to *dž*, as in *medža* < *media*, *remedžu* < *remedio* (*Modern Philology*, I, 263).

#### PALATAL *l* BETWEEN VOWELS

Medial *g* and *k* disappear before *l*. Menéndez Pidal assumes that they become *y*, *Manual*, § 57, 2d ed. If this were so we should find *e* in *cuaajo* < *coagulu*, *navaja* < *nouacula* as in *beso* < *basiu*, *eje* < *axe*, *era* < *area*, *hecho* < *factu*. Evidently *k* (including *k* < *t* as in *uetulu*) became voiced; *l* then changed *g* to a palatal sound like Bohemian *d'* or Hungarian *gy*. This *g* seems to have become *dž* in *arondžar*

(*Modern Philology*, I, 270), derived from \**arrolđzar* < *arrotulare*, with interchange of *n* and *l* as in *alma* < *ánima*, *Huelva* < *Onuba*, *rondar* < *rotulare* (Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 54). Usually palatal *g* made the *l* palatal, and was then assimilated like *d* in *cañado* < \**cadnado* < *catenatu*, *seroño* < \**serodno* < *serotinu*, variants of *candado* and *serondo* (Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 58). The resulting palatal *l* was treated like *ly*: *hoja* < *folia*, *ojo* < *oculu*, *teja* < *tilia*, *teja* < *tegula*. In Asturian former palatal *l* has become *y*: *fueya*, *güeyu*, *teya*. It seems to be generally held that the same thing happened in Castilian: so Cuervo, *Revue hispanique*, II, 64; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, I, § 514. But this theory does not harmonize with the retention of medial *y* for some twenty centuries in the word *cuyo*. If *j* came from *y* in *aguja*, *ojo*, *ajeno*, *ajo*, *paja*, we should find *j* in *huya*, *poyo*, *ma(y)estro*, *mayo*, *haya*, and many other such words.

The history of medial *j* can be inferred from that of *ll*. Dental *ll* was altered to its present palatal sound, and likewise *nn* to *ñ*, by raising the front of the tongue to the *y*-position. Before this process was ended, there was felt the need of keeping older palatal *l* (the derivative of *gl* and *ly*) distinct from the new one. So the old sound was strengthened by raising the tongue as much as possible; that is, palatal *l* became palatal *d*. Before a vowel this palatal *d* was later changed to *dž*, just as palatal *t* was to *tš* in *ocho* < *octo*. From *buitre*, *fresno*, *petral*, *prenda* < *pendra* < \**peñra* < *pignora*, beside *cuchillo*, *eje*, *pecho*, *seña*, we know that Spanish does not allow a palatal consonant before a consonant. Hence palatal *l* became *d* in *medrar*, a variant of *mejorar* < *meliorare* like *honrar* and *honorar* < *honorare*. A similar treatment of dental *l* took place in late *ld* < *ll* of book-Latin or Italian words: *bulda*, *celda*, *pildora*, *rebelde*. The change of *ll* to *dd* is a regular feature of southern Italian, which also has palatal *dd* (written *ggh*) for palatal *l*: Otrantine *cuedđdu* < *collu*, *fuegghiu* < *foliu* (Stoppato *Fonologia italiana*, § 171).

#### OLD SPANISH *z*

Latin *z* was like English *dz* in *adze*. Italian *z* means *dz* in some words, *ts* in others. Old French *z* was *dz* in the numbers *onze*, *seze*; at the end of a word it had the sound *ts*, which we still keep in Eng. *assets* < *assez* < *adsatis*, *Fitz* < *fiz* < *filius*. It cannot be reason-

ably doubted that Spanish *z* was once *dz* before a voiced sound and *ts* elsewhere. A bit of neglected evidence is the *dz* of Italian *azienda* < Sp. *hazienda*. Jewish speech has *dz* for *z* < *d* + *z*: *dodzi*, *tredzi*, *kator-dzi*, *kindzi* (*Modern Philology*, I, 206). Early grammarians compare Spanish *z* with Italian voiced *z*, and even transcribe it *ds* (*Revue hispanique*, II, 35). The development of *açor* < *aztor* < *acceptore*, *plazo* < *plazdo* < *placitu*, shows plainly *z* = *ts* and *z* = *dz*. The final elements of *tst* and *dzd* were lost by dissimilation, like the initial ones of *stš* and *sts* in *macho* < *masculu*, *mecer* < *miscere*, O.F. *oz* < *hostis*, Catalan *aquets* < *aquests* (Fabra, *Gramatica de la llengua catalana*, p. 108).

#### Z AFTER A CONSONANT

Palatalized *d* and *g* became *y* after a posttonic nasal and were absorbed: *lueñe* < *longe*, *tañe* < *tangit*, *uña* < *ungula*, *vergüeña* < *verecundia*. Otherwise a stronger sound was generally developed after a consonant. As initial *dž* comes from *dy*, we might expect the same strengthening medially. Instead we find *dz*, written *z* (now *θ*, written *c* or *z*). But this appearance of *dz*, where *dž* would seem more natural, is not a peculiarity of Spanish. Italian has *dž* from *dy* initially and after vowels, as in *giorno*, *giuso*, *poggio*, *raggio* (*mezzo* for older *meggio* being due to dissimilation in *mezzogiorno*); but *dz* after *r* and *n*: *orzo* < *hordeu*, *pranzo* < *prandiu*. Likewise Spanish formed *dz* after *r*, pretonic *n* and *w*: *arzen* < *argere* (classic *aggere*), *arzilla* < *argilla*, *enzía* < *gingiva*, *gozoso* < *gaudiosu*. The *u* of Latin *au* was a semivowel or consonant, like English *w* in *wood*. Its protective effect is seen in *coto* < *cautu*, *hoto* < *fautu*, *oca* < *auca*, *poco* < *paucu*. Between syllabic vowels, *t* and *k* became voiced; after *w*, as after *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, they remained voiceless. The word *arzen* must be the same as Italian *argine*; the stress of modern *arcén* seems to be due to *andén*, which has a related meaning. The final *n* may have come, like the ending of the Italian word, from nearly synonymous *marginé*; but more probably it was formed by dissimilation, like *l* and *r* for *n* in *español* < *españon*, *nombre* < *nomne*, *sangre* < *sangne*, Galician *lembrar* < *nembrar* < *membrar*.

Exceptions to this development of *dz* are due to the working of analogy. In *quinientos* < *quingentos*, *g* was treated as if initial, because the word was felt to be a compound. Modern *sendos*, for

earlier *seños* < *singulos*, must have been formed by dissimilation from \**senzos*, pronounced *sendzos*; the latter owed its *dz* to the related word *senziello* < \**singellu*. In verbs the strong stem spread to weak forms, as *tañer* for \**tanzer* like *yacer* for \**jacer*; in *unzir* and *uñir* are seen both developments. As *vergüença* had original *ç*, it must have borrowed this sound from the ending *-nça*, which is so common in abstract nouns. *Gozo* and *oya* have the variants *goyo*, *ozga* (Ford, *Old Spanish Sibilants*, 24); *goyo* and *oya* seem to be the historic forms. Pretonic *dz* was developed in *gozoso*, \**ozamos*, as in *renziella*, *senziello*, *unzir*; and posttonic *y* in *goyo*, *oya*, as in *riñe*, *seños*, *uñe*. Modern *gozo* and old \**oza* are due to the analogy of *gozar*, *gozoso*, \**ozamos*, \**ozades*. *Ozga* < \**oza* shows the influence of one of the commonest verbs, *haga*, *hago*, just as do later *oiga*, *oigo*, for *oya*, *oyo*. Portuguese likewise has *ouça*, *ouço*, with the endings of *faça*, *faço*; and *goivo* = Sp. *goyo* beside *gozo* = *gozo*.

#### PALATALIZED *c*

We know that in Spanish, as in Provençal and French, *ç* was formerly sounded *ts* (Ford, *Old Spanish Sibilants*, 89). Where *ç* is a derivative of Latin *c*, we should expect it to have passed through *tš*; and there is some evidence indicating that it did so in western Romance. In Castilian *mancha*, *uña*, and Galician *mancha* (pronounced *mãša* in modern Portuguese), *uña* (written *unha* in Portuguese), corresponding to Italian *macchia* < *macula*, *unghia* < *ungula*, we find secondary palatalized *c* and *g* treated like the primary ones of Italian *dieci* < *dece*, *dito* < *digitu*, Portuguese *faia* and Spanish *faya*, *haya* < *fagea*. From this general agreement it seems probable that the *ts* of *braço* and *cinco* came from older *tš*, which is still kept in Italian *braccio* and *cinque*. The development of *dulce* shows even more plainly that *ç* was once *tš*. Spanish *dulce* is apparently a combination of *duce* and \**dolce* = Catalan *dols*. Old *duce* and *duz*, derived from \**doice*, owe their *u* to the lost *i*, like *mucho* = Galician *moito* < *multu*. The *o* of \**doice* is seen in Galician *doce* and Portuguese *doce*. The latter form does not stand for \**douce*; for Galician does not confuse *ou* with *oi*, nor reduce *ou* to *o* as Portuguese does.

The *c* of *doce* and *duce* seems to have absorbed *i* without being altered. If *ç* had been *ts* when this happened, it would have been

changed to *tš*, just as *s* was to *š* in Portuguese and Spanish *puxar* < *pulsare*. The retention of *ç* shows that it was at that time *tš* or some similar palatal sound that could not be further palatalized. When this palatal *ç* absorbed *i*, the dental *t* of Spanish *\*muito* must have become palatal *t* (Bohemian *t'*, Hungarian *ty*). Before palatal *t* became prepalatal *tš* in *mucho*, older *tš* (*ç*) was changed to alveolar *ts* and thus kept distinct in word-pairs like *caça* and *cacha*, *maço* and *macho*. Later *ts* lost its *t*, and the remaining fricative was in Castilian moved forward to dental *θ*. This development kept *ç* from confusion with *s*, which was probably then as now a post-alveolar sound, somewhat resembling English *sh*. The antiquity of Hispanic *ş* is shown by its prevalence in Catalan, Galician, and northern Portuguese (Vianna, *Pronuncia normal portuguesa*, § 42; *Revue hispanique*, I, 9). Southern Portuguese and Andalusian have alveolar *s* instead of *ş*, so that *ç* and *ss* are confused. This loss of the former distinction is perhaps due to Moorish influence; for Arabic has no *ş*, and most of the modern dialects confuse old *θ* (*θā*) with *s* (*sīn*).

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